

[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

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The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn in the fourteenth century: the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

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Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

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One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the river-bed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Ali, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

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The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addō u Yūsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addō u Yūsuf which it readily distorts in paroxystone. Yūsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

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182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellements prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without *petitio principii*, to a claimed

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stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with

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lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the individual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Sekawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

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/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups with-
in the political society. The fact is that the
oath often has this aspect. And that is so
true that, the group growing larger into the
raqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs
that then function in the cojuratio. But one
is also struck by the traits of decline or re-
treat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what
amounts to the same thing, by its unequal re-
sistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences,
from which, in short, the public law in the
strict sense of the term has much better extri-
cated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that
has had the major influence, to the point,
undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

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/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless
they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society
with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is re-
flected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative
remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four
centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order,
without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the
ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best
studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux,
has given much space to completely contrary aspects. (A sharp
difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these
authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of
the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the
reqba, the Canāya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies
such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande
Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already
contrast the vendetta to the dīā, as signs of
two radically different systems, p. 35. These